

A new manuscript of Pua Ara Hoa 'a Rapu from the archives of William Mulloy,

Part 1: Description of the manuscript

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A set of photographs and negatives of a previously unknown manuscript attributed to Pua Ara Hoa 'a Rapu was found among Mulloy's papers at the Biblioteca William Mulloy at the Museo Antropológico P. Sebastián Englert on Easter Island. The manuscript shows the same handwriting as that observed in other manuscripts attributed to Pua Ara Hoa. The text contains three sections – the list of rongorongo signs copied from the tracings of the Santiago staff published by Philippi, the list of place names composed by Mako'i 'a Hua Tava (one of the seven explorers to Rapa Nui), and the list of the kings from Hiva and Easter Island. The discovered manuscript ends with two pages filled with manutara drawings – a unique large-scale graphic design not observed in other manuscripts.

Un conjunto de fotografías y negativos de un manuscrito desconocido atribuido a Pua Ara Hoa 'a Rapu fue encontrado entre los documentos de Mulloy en la Biblioteca William Mulloy, del Museo Antropológico P. Sebastián Englert de Isla de Pascua. El manuscrito muestra una caligrafía igual a otros atribuidos a Pua Ara Hoa. El texto contiene tres secciones – la lista de signos rongorongo copiados de los trazos del bastón de Santiago publicados por Philippi, la lista de lugares compuesta por Mako'i 'a Hua Tava (uno de los siete exploradores a Rapa Nui), y la lista de los reyes de Hiva e Isla de Pascua. El manuscrito encontrado termina con dos páginas llenas con diseños de manutara – la única decoración gráfica de gran escala que no se observó en ningún otro manuscrito.

Introduction

Oral traditions and folklore were of extreme importance in Polynesia, creating a link between the deeds of the venerated ancestors and the present day. Before the introduction of writing, legends, myths, genealogies, songs, and recitations would have been remembered by heart to ensure unbreakable transmission of traditional knowledge to future generations. Rapa Nui had a considerable advantage in developing *rongorongo*, the writing system that may have been of significant help in the preservation of oral traditions. With the arrival of missionaries, the islanders were taught to read and write in the Latin alphabet, which eventually became used as a tool to preserve and transmit oral traditions:

“In this rare climate of reconstitution, reinvigoration and renewal [at the end of the 19th century], the Rapanui began to reinvent their traditional history. Pua Ara Hoa, Nicolas Pakarati, Tori, Pakomio Ure Kino, Daniel Ure Va'e Iko and Tomenika Vaka Tuku Onge combined old and recently borrowed or expanded tales – such as the 'Hotu Matu'a Cycle' of stories – to create a new 'traditional' corpus of settlement

and other legends. Out of this evolved the 'ancient literature' of the island that survives today. It was first written down in the 1890s, in the Rapanui language, in family ledgers and then hidden away (until the 1950s) from all non-Rapanui as 'sacred lore'. These stories were usually adorned with pseudo-'texts' of *rongorongo* signs to form a collection that eventually came to be known as the '*rongorongo* books' or the 'Rapanui manuscripts'. The mastermind behind this process was Pua Ara Hoa, who, mainly for his leading role in compiling the 'Rapanui manuscripts', personified Rapa Nui's most important source of oral tradition. One cannot stress too strongly the reverence with which the Rapanui people today still regard these recent 'holy books'..." (Fischer 2005:148).

The discovery of the Rapanui manuscripts by members of the Norwegian Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific in 1955-1956 was very important. Before that, only separate leaves with writing were reported – such as Tomenika's *ta'u* found by Routledge (1919:250, Figure 99). In contrast, the Rapanui manuscripts discovered in the 1950s were more complete, containing dozens of legends, lists of different

kings, and other important texts. Heyerdahl and Ferdon (1965) published photographic reproductions of four manuscripts: Manuscript A (40 pages, from Esteban Atan), Manuscript B (18 pages, from Elias Pakarati, now in the Kon-Tiki Museum), Manuscript C (34 pages, from Juan Haoa, now in the Kon-Tiki Museum) and Manuscript D (13 inscribed fragments, from Aron Pakarati). The largest – containing over a hundred pages – Manuscript E was discovered in 1954 or 1955 by Chilean school teacher Lorenzo Baeza Vega (Barthel 1978:287). This manuscript belonged to Timoteo Pakarati. In 1956, this document was photographed by Bolivian student Bejarano and further studied by Barthel in 1957-1958, both in its original form and from photographs. Barthel published a photograph of one page and re-typed the text of the entire Manuscript E (Barthel 1978:304-356). The same text was recently re-published using modern Rapanui spelling with a Spanish translation by Alarcón (2008). Heyerdahl and Ferdon published two photographs of Manuscript E – one page and a general view of the foldout of the manuscript with a page featuring *rongorongo* glyphs (Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965:Figure 192). To the best of our knowledge, no other photographs of Manuscript E have been published to date.

Barthel documented another Rapanui manuscript of modern origin, which he called Manuscript F:

“Discovered by me in 1957, it was in the possession of Gabriel Hereveri in the leper station north of Hanga-Roa. This old leper is the author, and has written down oral traditions during the last years. Copies of the texts are now in the collection of the author, Tübingen University. Manuscript F, about thirty pages, shows certain traditions of differing value intermixed with *rongo-rongo*-signs, to be evaluated at a later date” (Barthel 1965:388).

The footnote on the same page, added by the editors (Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965:388) says:

“Gabriel Hereveri was actually observed writing on this manuscript during visits at the leprosarium by the members of the Norwegian expedition in 1955-56.”

It is possible that the very same document was studied by Bettocchi (2006a):

“Coquimbo, April 7, 2006: I had a chance to discover in the house of Doctor Alfredo Cea Egaña ... the final notebook which I will call the “manuscript G”. The small work of 30 pages, contained the signs believed to be from recitations of oral traditions, of ancient and contemporaneous deeds. On the cover, Father S. Englert attests that it was Gabriel Hereveri who wrote it ...” (translation from French by the authors).

Published photographs of the pages from the manuscript (Bettocchi 2006b, 2006c), however, are too small for a detailed study. The image of the cover (Bettocchi 2006c) indeed shows Englert’s recognizable handwriting attributing the authorship of the manuscript to Gabriel Hereveri. The general page count, as well as described contents of the manuscript, suggests that Bettocchi in fact saw the manuscript mentioned by Barthel, which should thus be called “Manuscript F”. Yet, Bettocchi (2006a, 2009a:29) also published a completely different document – four pages containing a corrected copy of Jausen’s (1893) *rongorongo* sign list – which thus will be referred to as “Manuscript G” in this paper.

One additional manuscript was seen by Chilean scientist Jorge Silva Olivares in 1956:

“Olivares made the following entry in his diary... “...looking for old document in the house of Juan Teao in Hanga Roa I came across probably a very incomplete copy of a *rongorongo* dictionary. It was copied from some other document which was the property of Pedro Pate. The latter inherited it from his grandfather Tomenika who was a ‘professor’ (*maori rongorongo*) and wrote this manuscript about sixty-five years ago [that is, in the 1890s] in order to teach his pupils.” Silva Olivares photographed this manuscript, but the film, so he says, was “lost or stolen.” He did, however, copy a genealogical list of chiefs which was recorded in the manuscript” (Knorozov 1965:392).

The further destiny of this manuscript is unknown to the authors. The genealogy was published by Butinov and Knorozov (1957:42). It is strongly reminiscent – though not identical – to the genealogy from Manuscript A, seemingly discarding the probability that the document seen by Silva Olivares was Manuscript A (though the latter bears the name of Tomenika on its pages, see Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965:Figures 96 and 108). The discovery of several manuscripts in the late 1950s suggests that more unknown Rapanui manuscripts might exist on the island (Heyerdahl 1965:366).

The Rapanui Manuscript from William Mulloy’s Archives

The core of the bibliographic collection housed in the William Mulloy Library (Biblioteca William Mulloy, BWL) at the MAPSE (Museo Antropológico Padre Sebastián Englert) on Rapa Nui is formed by the personal library of the famous American anthropologist William Mulloy. This library has one of the world’s largest public collections of books, articles, periodical publications, maps, and photographs, and also includes

recordings of traditional music, CDs and videos focused on Rapa Nui. The library holds a photographic archive of 20,000 pictures that forms a major nexus with the Rapanui community.

Mulloy's photographic archives consist of 15 albums with documentation of restorations and archaeological work, as well as three boxes with envelopes containing miscellaneous pictures. In a sub-folder entitled "Tongariki" inside the box containing images from Rapa Iti, we identified photographs of a previously unpublished Rapanui manuscript. This apparent "misplacement" may be related to the fact that other Rapanui manuscripts (known as Manuscripts A-D) seen by the Norwegian Expedition were published in the second volume of the reports that also featured material from Rapa Iti. Perhaps Mulloy prepared these photographs for publication in the same volume, yet for some reason this never happened. The provenance of the original manuscript and the way in which Mulloy obtained its photographs are unknown to the authors. One photograph from the same sub-folder features the name Santiago Pakarati; however, there is not a single inscription or signature on the back of manuscript's pictures that may clarify its provenance. To simplify further discussion, we will use the term "Manuscript H" for the present document, continuing Barthel's nomenclature (1965).

The set of photographs consists of twelve 9×12cm contact-printed images and the corresponding sheet film negatives. We scanned the negatives at 1200 dpi and reproduce them here for the first time (Figures 1-6). The line numbers were added to facilitate further reference and discussion. The manuscript was written on pages labeled "*Oficinas Fiscales, Republica de Chile*". The pages were removed from the original binding and were held together (at least at the moment of documentation) with a dark thread that is partially seen in the bottom parts of Figures 3 and 4. Judging from the size of handwriting and lettering of the label, the manuscript was of ledger size (11"×17" or 27.9×43.2cm). At some point after the pages were already completed, the document was cut in half, perhaps to fit into a smaller envelope. This may have possibly facilitated the concealing of the document in the epoch of strict secrecy related to Rapanui manuscripts (Heyerdahl 1965:362).

When photographed, the manuscript was laid over a black background. Each page was pictured from both sides, yet under different conditions: one face was documented directly over a black background (Figures 1 & 4); the rest of the pictures show stacked pages (Figures 2, 3, 5, & 6). This difference explains why Figures 1 and 4 feature numerous black holes, while in the photographs showing the reverse of the same leaves, they are not so noticeable. A careful study of paper creasing patterns and holes proved that the photographs

document only four leaves bearing page numbers 7-10 and 13-16. The leaf with pages 11-12 is missing. Both top and bottom page parts were documented for the leaves with pages 7-10; we did not find any image showing the bottom part of pages 13-16. The different parts of the document feature distinct preservation: the bottom parts of pages 7-10 are barely legible, while all upper parts of all pages are in a far better state.

The text of Manuscript H can be divided into several parts. Pages 7-9 contain a list of *rongorongo* characters that were most likely copied from Philippi's tracings of the Santiago staff (1875). The captions that accompany them have no relation to Jaussen's list, but they are similar to a part of the lengthy sign from Manuscript A (Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965:Figures 111-121). The text of Manuscript H continues with the extensive list of place names (pages 9-10) that is consistent with the list recorded in Manuscript E, naming the places visited by Mako'i 'a Hua Tava – one of the legendary seven explorers that discovered Rapa Nui following the dream voyage of Haumaka. Due to the absence of photographic documentation of pages 11 and 12, the total number of place names in this list remains unknown. The text follows with the list of the kings from the legendary homeland, Hiva (page 13), and the list of Rapanui kings (pages 13-14). The detailed analysis of these sections will be given in the second part of this paper (Horley & López Labbé *in press*). The last two pages (pages 15-16) of the document are decorated with sooty terns (*manutara*), traced in a highly stylized form reminiscent of that of the Ana Kai Tangata paintings. The silhouettes of the terns seemingly covered the entire page, comprising a unique large-scale decoration known from Rapanui manuscripts. A pencil sketch of a tern is seen on page 14 (Figure 5).

Another interesting addition is a faint pencil inscription below the words "*hohora toou kahu ritorito*" (see Figure 4 for general view and Figure 7 for a close-up). Its analysis is complicated because the intensity of the line is comparable with that of an ink inscription on the reverse side of the page. The most pronounced "ghost" signs "4", "O" and "H" from page 9, lines 10 and 11, are marked in the figure. The first word written in pencil can possibly be read as the names Estel(a?) / Esteb(an?), or as the Spanish word *este* [this]. In the latter case, it may be a comment added for one of the place names written nearby. The second penciled-in word is less clear, yet it has the letter "a" seemingly entering a syllable "Ha", "la" or "ta". It is difficult to say where the second word ends, as there is a contour resembling the letter "o" (or "a"?) to the right of the "ghost" number "4" (Figure 7). Assuming that the pencil inscription may contain a personal name, we studied the 1918 census carried out by R.P. Bienvenido de Estella for similar names, finding Estela Haoa

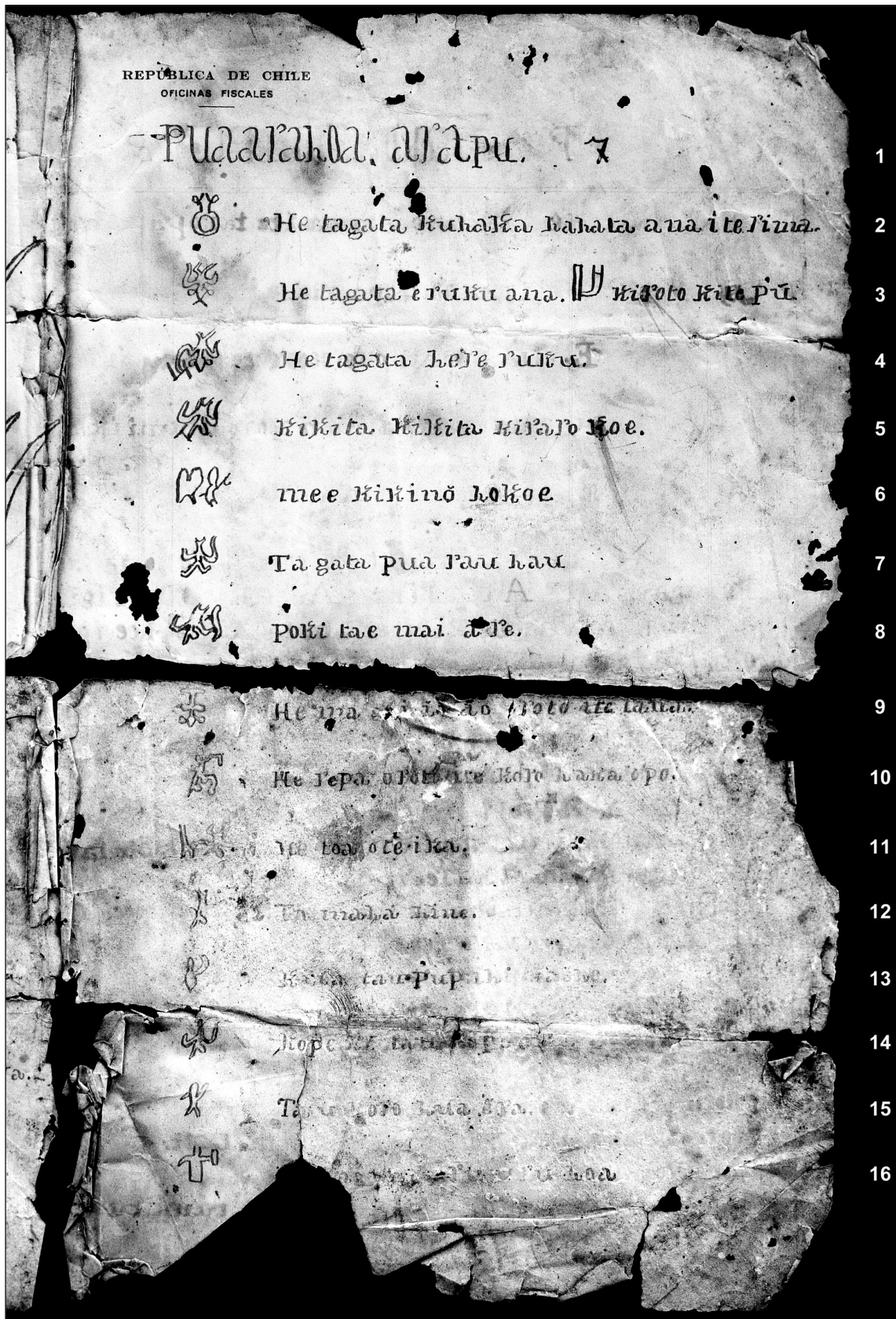


Figure 1. Page 7 of Pua Ara Hoa manuscript (image courtesy of the Biblioteca William Mulloy).

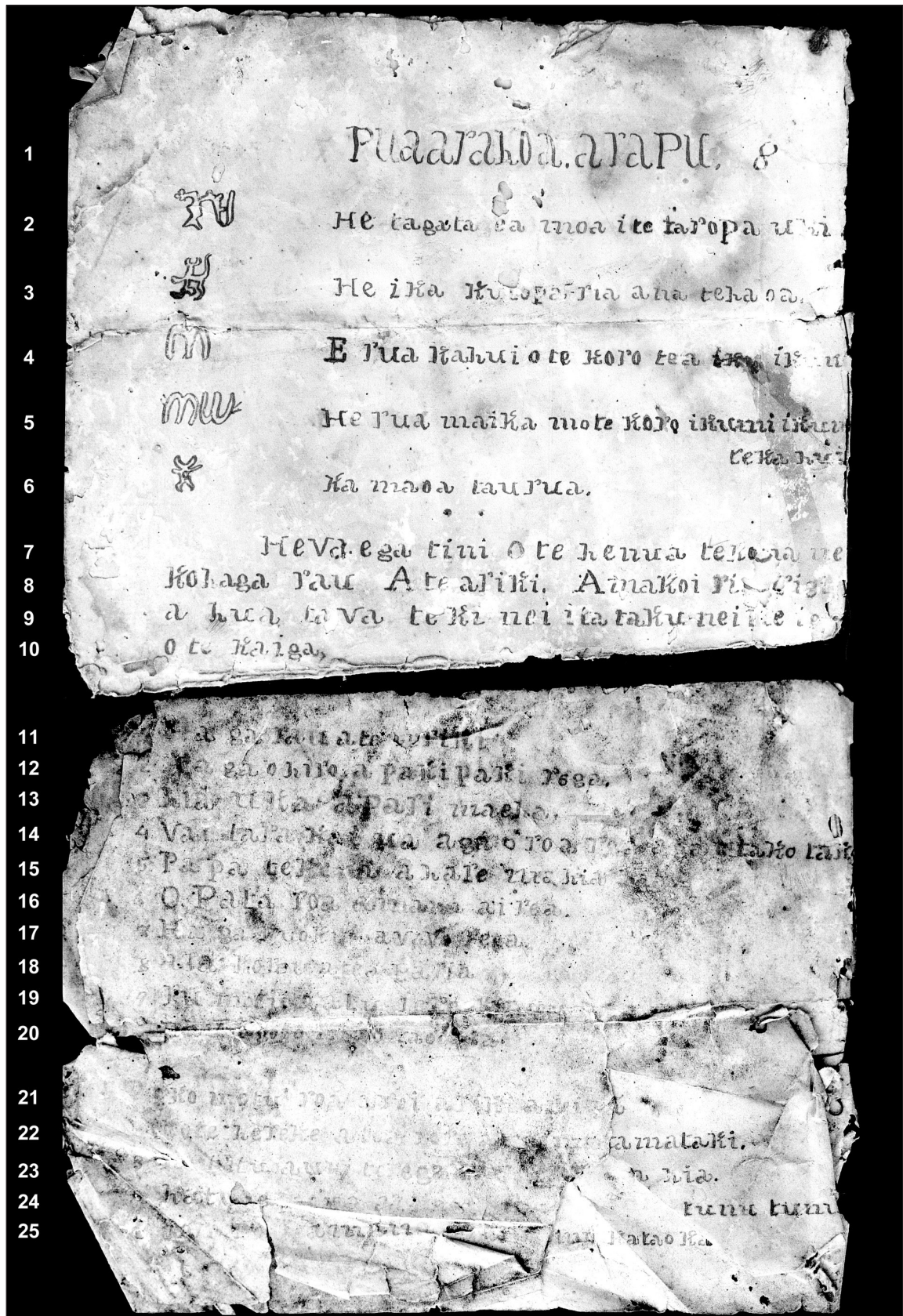


Figure 2. Page 8 of Pua Ara Hoa manuscript (image courtesy of the Biblioteca William Mulloy).

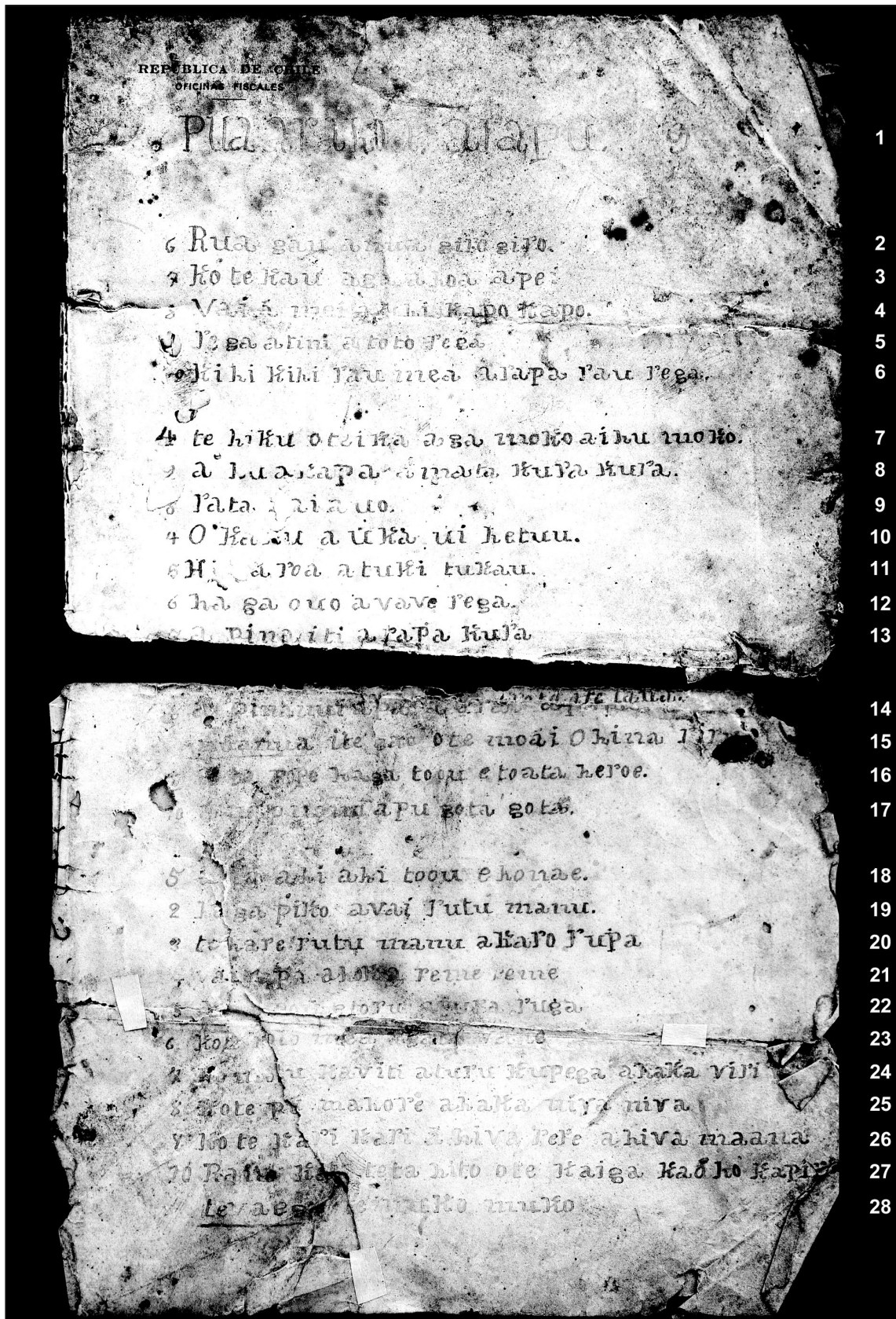


Figure 3. Page 9 of Pua Ara Hoa manuscript (image courtesy of the Biblioteca William Mulloy).

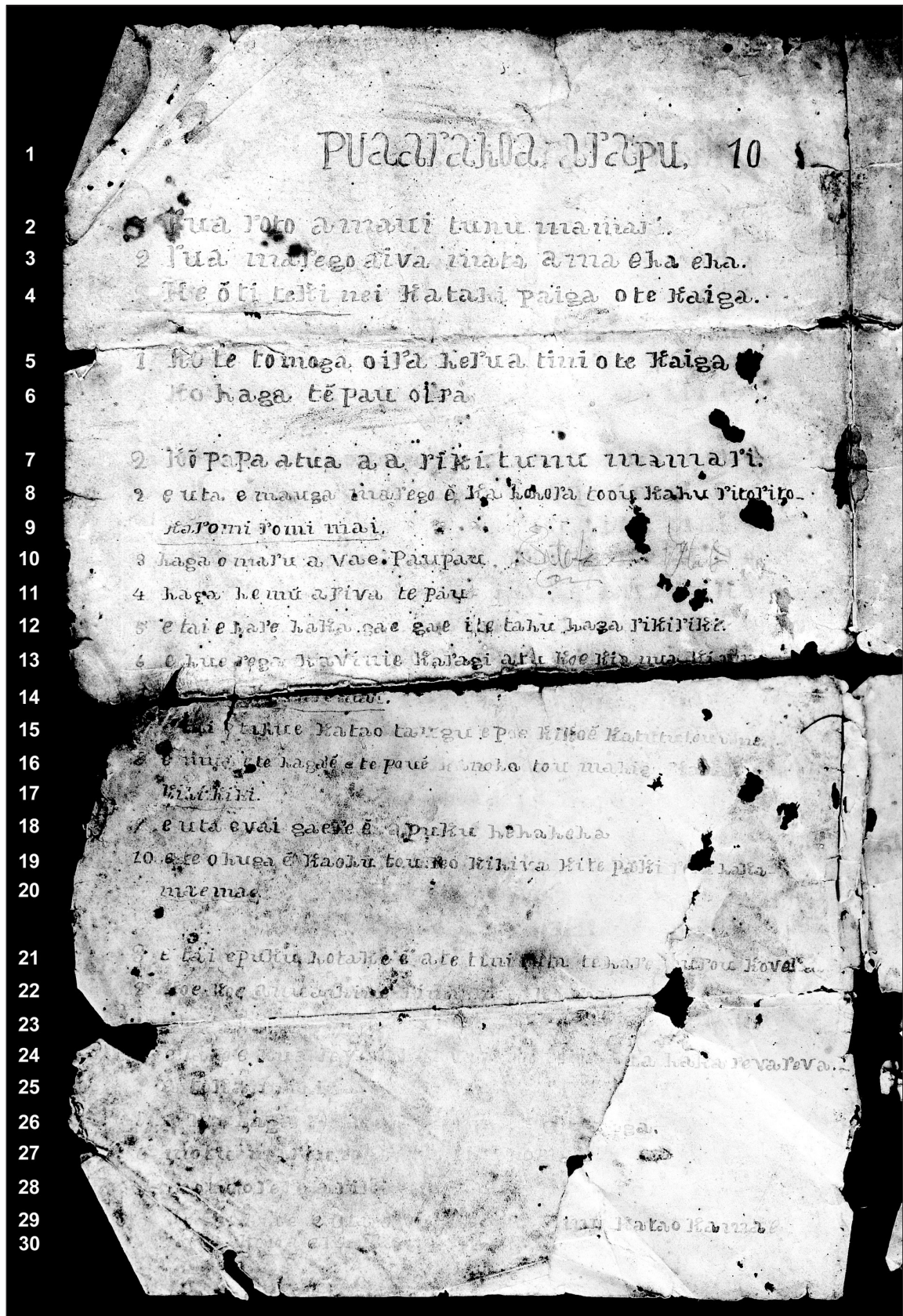


Figure 4. Page 10 of Pua Ara Hoa manuscript (image courtesy of the Biblioteca William Mulloy).

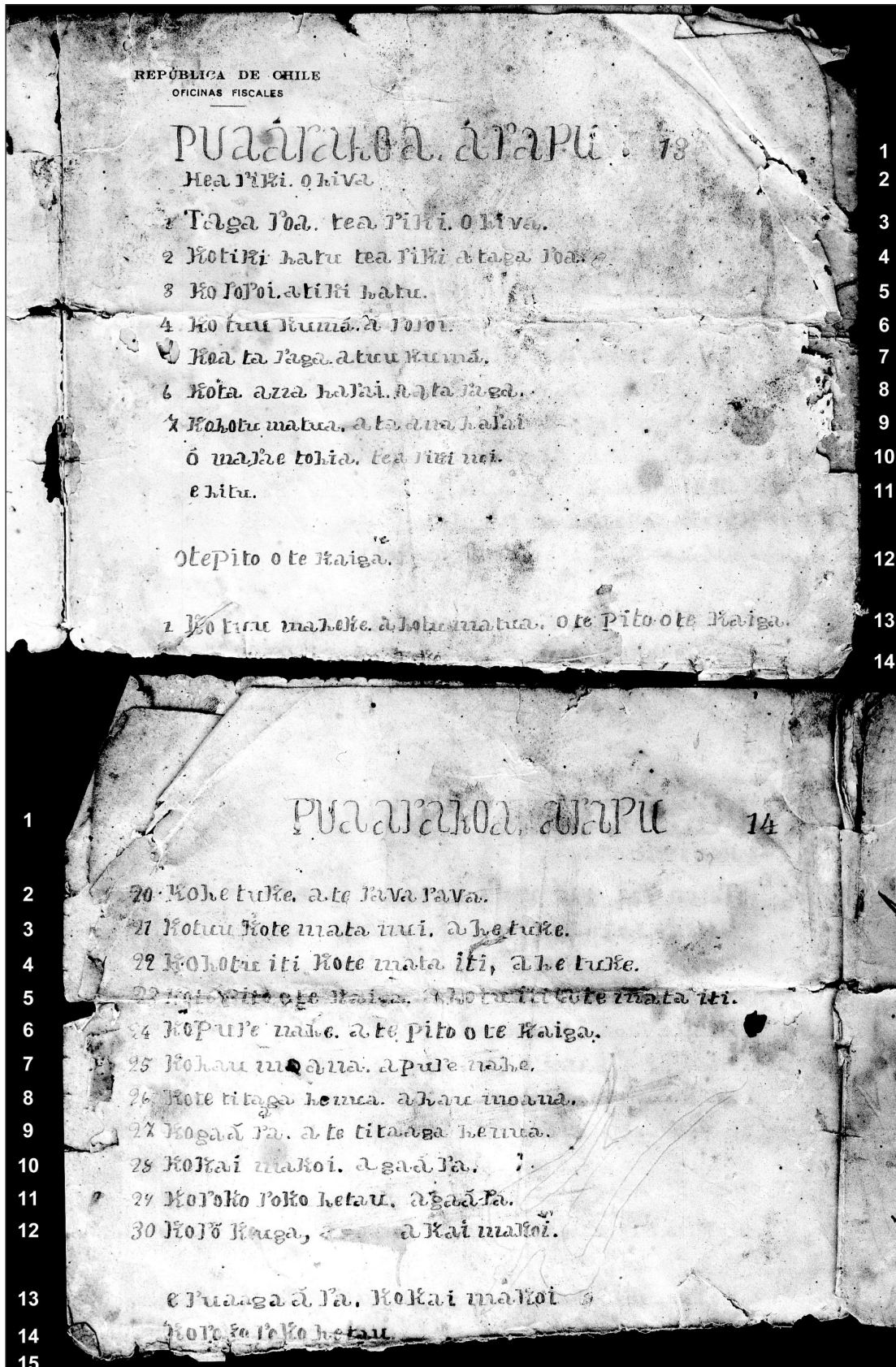


Figure 5. Fragments of pages 13 and 14 of Pua Ara Hoa manuscript (image courtesy of the Biblioteca William Mulloy).



Figure 6. Fragments of pages 15 and 16 of Pua Ara Hoa manuscript (image courtesy of the Biblioteca William Mulloy).



Figure 7. Close-up to faint handwriting on page 10 of Pua Ara Hoa Manuscript. The “ghost images” of the signs written on the other side of the page are marked with arrows. The close-up to the corresponding part of page 9 is given for comparison in the right hand side of the figure (images courtesy of the Biblioteca William Mulloy).

who was 19 years old at that time (Estella 1921:68) and Esteban [Tepano] Rano, who was 13 years old in 1918 (Estella 1921:66). However, it is still difficult to confirm positive identification of any of these names in the pencil writing shown in Figure 7. The meaning of a scribble below the first word also remains elusive.

Pua Ara Hoa and the Rapanui Manuscripts

On the top of each page there is a name, Pua Ara Hoa 'a Rapu, and a page number. Pua Ara Hoa was an important person; the Rapanui surname Araki started from him:

“*Araki* is not the name from the Island, but a corruption and abbreviation of a Christian name (perhaps Heraclio, which is Arakilio in Tahitian) which was used as a surname to the son of Aro Purunga. This Araki [Arakilio Pua Arahoa] married a daughter of the French Du-Trou Bornier. The ancestors of this Araki belonged to the tribe of Tupahotu” (Englert 1948:55, translation from Spanish by the authors).

Barthel (1978:297) suggests that patronymic ‘a *Rapu* may be a modification of Arakilio’s father’s name: Pua Ara Hoa ‘a Aro Purunga → Pua Ara Hoa ‘a Rapu Runga → Pua Ara Hoa ‘a Rapu. His birth date is estimated to be around 1840, meaning that he lived his youth in pre-missionary culture and may have been elected a sacred birdman, adapting a new name of Utupiro:

“According to Mateo Hereveri, Pua Ara Hoa was versed in *rongo*, had knowledge of secret caves, and had the reputation of being a successful planter. He does not seem to have been familiar with the European alphabet.... “His last soil” turned out to be the leper station, where he died in 1912 or 1913. It was at the leper station that he came in contact with the teenaged Arturo Teao (approximately 1896-

1947). Pua Ara Hoa may well be the most important source of oral traditions, which he passed on to Arturo Teao... Pua Ara Hoa was the central figure among the *korohua*, a group of old Easter Islanders, who during the second decade of this [20th] century were the last living eyewitness of the pre-missionary era...” (Barthel 1978:297-298).

The year of Pua Ara Hoa’s death is uncertain; Fischer suggests a later date:

“In her field notes Katherine Routledge calls him Gwa-La-Hóa. He, too, resided with the lepers. Barthel... estimates his birth to be c. 1840 and that shortly before 1866 he might have become a *tangata manu* (‘Birdman’) for one year.... Though Barthel (ibid.) believes that he died c. 1912-1913, it is clear in Katherine’s field notes that her Gwa-La-Hóa can only be the *korohua* Pua Ara Hoa. Apparently he died before Estella’s census of 1918” (Fischer 1997:129-130).

Pua Ara Hoa’s name appears as a heading on the pages of Manuscript B (Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965:Figures 171-188), Manuscript E, and is also briefly mentioned in Manuscript A (Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965:Figure 133).

Palaeographic Analysis of Rapanui Manuscripts

Upon finding the third manuscript labeled with Pua Ara Hoa’s name, it becomes especially interesting to confirm whether all manuscripts attributed to him feature the same handwriting style. To answer this question, here we report the results of palaeographic analysis of all known Rapanui manuscripts. It is possible to identify several handwriting types that are shown in Figure 8, with page-by-page attributions of each hand per manuscript summarized in Table 1.

As one can see, Manuscripts A and C were written by several scribes, including both multi-page contributions (MS A1, MS A2, MS A5, MS C1-C4) and single texts (MS A3, MS A4, MS C5-C8). The remaining manuscripts usually had a single author; it should be noted, however, that Manuscripts D and G consist of a small number of fragments, which makes their single-person authorship quite expected. At the opposite end of the spectrum stands Manuscript E with over a hundred pages, also written by a single person (Barthel 1978:290). Thus, we have clear indications that Rapanui manuscripts were created by both individuals and groups. The multi-person authorship, however, does not imply simultaneous writing of the document.

In spite of a high level of secrecy surrounding the manuscripts, at least two of them feature fluent non-Rapanui handwriting. Manuscript B is annotated in Spanish (in Figure 8 we presented only the letters that appear in the Rapanui language). Manuscript C features a part of Jaussen's list written by a skilled calligraphic hand MS C4; the hand MS C3 with a very similar letter shape apparently being his pupil, who started to copy Jaussen's list and stopped after writing four pages. Interestingly, the teacher takes up and completes the

writing. The evidence for this is seen in Heyerdahl & Ferdon (1965:Figure 157), where the initial three lines of the page are written by MS C3 but the remaining seven lines (as well as the following five pages) are written by the scribe MS C4.

The preferred writing tool for Rapanui manuscripts was a quill or pen, producing different stroke thickness depending on the pressure applied. The pencil was very sporadically used, mainly for adding brief notes (hands MS C5-7) or filling in *rongorongo* glyphs (Manuscript C, Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965:Figures 153-157). The shape of the letters pronouncedly imitates printed letters. When the newly-literate persons transmitted the knowledge of writing to their own pupils, it is natural that they were teaching the same letter shape resulting in about a dozen similar scribal hands (Figure 8). As a rule, the manuscripts use lowercase letters throughout with occasional interspersions with capital letters. This is why for several letters we were unable to trace the uppercase forms, while the lowercase forms abound.

Manuscript A was written by about five hands (Figure 8) that can be differentiated by the shapes of the letters *g* (rendering velar nasal), *t*, and *u*. The lowercase *g* was seemingly the most complicated letter with its collar and loop meticulously rendered

Table 1. The occurrence of different handwriting types in Rapanui manuscripts. Figure numbers for the Manuscripts A-E are given for Heyerdahl & Ferdon (1965).

Hand	Pages/ Figures	Text
MS A1	Figs. 96-122	copy of Jaussen list, list of the months, <i>rongorongo</i> sign list
MS A2	Figs. 123-8, 131-3	royal genealogy, <i>ariki hopea</i> , <i>he timo</i> , list of moon nights, rains and plants
MS A3	Figs. 129-130	Text <i>Ko Hau Maka</i>
MS A4	Fig. 133	text about Pua Ara Hoa and Tori
MS A5	Figs. 134-6	Biblical text in Rapanui
MS B1	Figs. 171-188	copy of Jaussen list with additional characters added
MS B2	Figs. 171-187	Spanish translation of sign interpretations added to MS B1, non-Rapanui hand
MS C1	Figs. 137-8, 147-152	<i>Ko Makemake</i> , copy of Jaussen list, names of seven explorers
MS C2	Figs. 139-146, 163-9	text about Kahu Mea, royal genealogy, <i>Ko Ruhi</i> , <i>Ko Korou o Rongo</i> , <i>Ko Hotu Matua</i> , <i>Ko Tangaroa</i>
MS C3	Figs. 153-7	copy of Jaussen list, Rapanui hand
MS C4	Figs. 157-162	copy of Jaussen list, non-Rapanui hand
MS C5	Fig. 149	calendar-related fragment
MS C6	Figs. 153, 157, 158	records related to moon observation and lines about Ure a Oho Vehi and <i>akuaku</i>
MS C7	Fig. 169	phrase " <i>tagata cogu</i> "
MS C8	Fig. 170	recitation " <i>i Anakena korua i mate ai</i> "
MS D	Figs. 189-191	copy of Jaussen list
MS E	Fig. 192; Barthel 1978, front piece	a lengthy tradition about dream of Hau Maka, visit of seven explorers and migration of Hotu Matu'a to Rapa Nui
MS F	Bettocchi 2006c	<i>rongorongo</i> sign list
MS G	Bettocchi 2006a	copy of Jaussen list
MS H	Figs. 1-6, this paper	<i>rongorongo</i> sign list, place name list, royal genealogies

	A	E	H	I	K	M	N	N	O	P	R	T	U	V
MS A1	Aa	Eeē	Hh	i	Ķ	Mm	Nn	gg	o	P	Rr	Tt	Uu	Vv
MS A2	Aaā	Eeēē	Hh	i	Ķ	Mm	n	g	Ooō	P	Rr	Tt	Uu	Vv
MS A3	Aaā	Eeēē	Hh	Iiī	ĶĶ	Mm	nn	gg	oō	P	Rrr	t	Uu	Vv
MS A4	aā	e	h	i	ĶĶ	mm			oōō	PP	Rr	Ttt	u	Vv
MS A5	Aaāaā	eē	Hh	i	ĶĶ	mm	nn	gg	oōō	PP	r	t	uūū	Vv
MS B1	aā	Eeē	Hh	Iiī	ĶĶ	Mm	nn	gg	Ooōō	PP	Rrr	Ttt	uūū	Vv
MS B2	a	e	h	i	Ķ	Mm	nn	g	o	P	Rr	t	u	Vv
MS C1	Aa	Ee	Hh	Ii	ĶĶ	Mm	Nn	Gg	Oo	P	Rrr	Tt	uū	Vv
MS C2	Aa	Ee	Hh	i	ĶĶĶĶ	m	Nnn	gggg	oō	PP	Rrr	t	uūū	Vv
MS C3	a	e	h	i	ĶĶ	mm	nn	g	o	P	Rr	t	u	Vv
MS C4	Aaā	Eeē	Hh	Iiī	ĶĶ	Mm	nn	g	Ooō	P	Rrr	t	uū	Vv
MS C5	a	e	h	i	Ķ	Mm	n	g	o	P	Rr	Ttt	uū	Vv
MS C6	Aa	e	h	i	ĶĶ	m	n	g	o	P	r	t	uūū	Vv
MS C7	a	e	h	i	Ķ	Mm	n	g	o	P	r	t	uūū	Vv
MS C8	aā	eē	h	i	ĶĶ	mm	nn	gg	oō	P	r	t	uūū	Vv
MS D	Aa	Eee	Hh	ii	ĶĶ	Mm	Nn	ggg	Oo	P	Rr	Ttt	u	Vv
MS E	AAaā	eē	Hh	i	ĶĶ	Mm	nn	gg	oōō	PP	r	Ttt	Uuūū	V
MS F	a	e	h	i	Ķ				o	P	r		u	
MS G	Aa	Ee	Hh	Li	ĶĶ	Mm	Nn	gg	o	PP	Rr	Tt	u	Vv
MS H	Aaā	Eeē	Hh	i	ĶĶ	mm	nn	g	Ooōō	PP	r	Tt	Uuū	Vv
Numbers														
MS A4	0 1 2 3 4 5 6			MS B1	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9		MS C5	0 2 3			MS E		5	
MS A5	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9						MS C6	1 2		7 8 9	MS H	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9		

Figure 8. Different handwriting types observed in Rapanui manuscripts (traced after Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965: Figures 97-192; Barthel 1978: front piece; Bettocchi 2006b, 2006c, and; Figures 1-6 of this paper). The manuscripts attributed to Pua Ara Hoa (MS B1, MS E and MS H, highlighted) feature very similar handwriting.

by hands MS A2, A3, and A5; the scribe MS A1 was writing the letter *g* more fluently, yet without reaching a common script form such as that of MS C4. Letter *t* was written either with a crossbar intersecting the ascender (MS A1, A2, and A4) or set to the right of it (MS A3 and A5). The letter *u* is rendered either as uppercase *U* (MS A1, A2, and A3) or a lowercase *u* (MS A4 and A5). The diacritics seen in Manuscript A are acute accents (*áéíóú*), a macron (*ē*) and breve accents (*ěōŭ*). The pages written by the scribe MS A5 were possibly completed at a later date, because only this text features occasional attempts to mark glottal stops (Davletshin pers. comm. 2014). The appearance of the letter *K* with a crescent-shape attached to its arm is quite unusual. We conducted a preliminary search for English and Spanish typefaces used in the 19th century, but were unable to find a good match for this particular letter shape.

Manuscripts B, E, and H, marked with the name of Pua Ara Hoa, indeed feature the same handwriting, which is easily distinguished by the overall preference of disjointed strokes, most notably in the letters *a*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *r*, and *t*. The letter *g* is always traced faithful to its printed appearance. The letter *t* has an arm set to the right of its stem, in most cases separated from it. The letter *u* is predominantly lowercase. The uppercase letters are written with serifs, which are centered to the stems for *A*, *E*, *I*, *P*, *R*, and *T* but point outwards for *H*, *K*, *M*, *U*, and *V*. The use of outward serifs together with disjointed strokes forms an easily-recognizable “stencil style”, e.g., with the letter *M* looking as *Ų* (Figure 8, MS E). The preferred diacritics in Pua Ara Hoa’s manuscripts are breve accents: *ă* – MS B1, E, and H; *ĕ* – MS E and MS H; *ō* – MS B1, E, and H; *ŭ* – MS B1 and E. Acute accents are less common: *é* – MS B1; *í* – MS B1 and MS E; *ó* – MS B1 and MS H; *ú* – MS B1 and MS H. In some instances, a grave accent is used: *ì* and *ù* – MS E. Some other manuscripts feature remarkably similar handwriting: MS A3 (with the letters *m* and *n* tending to join the strokes), MS A5 (featuring adornments on the apex of letter *A*, which are consistent with adornments added to *P* and *R* in MS B1; the strokes of *m* and *n* are disjointed, yet these letters feature centered foot serifs). The text mentioning Pua Ara Hoa and Tori in Manuscript A (Figure 8, MS A4) features disjointed strokes for the letter *m*, but it uses the letter *t* with a crossbar centered over the ascender, which is uncharacteristic for the handwriting seen in Pua Ara Hoa’s manuscripts.

Manuscript C was composed by several scribes. The hand MS C1 is peculiar due to the drawing of triangular serifs on *E* and *T*, which are also seen in MS D. There are slight differences in treating serifs for *K* and *M*, yet the shape of other letters of MS C1 and MS D are much similar, possibly belonging to the same person. Scribal hand MS C2 produced large fluent letters with

several calligraphic variations of *K* and *g*. The letter *t* has the crossbar centered at the ascender. The letter *u* is lowercase except for the final paragraph of Tangaroa lore (Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965:Figure 169), written in small-sized letters. It features *r* with serifs and uses uppercase *N*, which do not appear anywhere else in the texts belonging to MS C2. These subtle differences may possibly mean a different scribe. The diacritics used in MS C2 consist of an extremely long acute accent on *ú*, which is very similar to that of MS A3 (letter *i*, Figure 8). However, MS C2 and MS A3 do not belong to the same person because they have considerable differences in writing the letters *g*, *r*, *t*, and *u*.

Hands MS C3 and MS C4 were briefly discussed above. It is important to mention that the pupil MS C3 wrote the letter *p* (both uppercase and lowercase) differently than the teacher’s form; other letter shapes are quite comparable with MS C4, including an elegant uppercase *T*. The hand of MS C4 is remarkable for adding curved tails to word-final vocals (Figure 8). The handwriting of the pupil did not inherit this detail. The passages about moon observations, added in pencil to several pages of Manuscript C, were probably written by different hands. The list of months (Heyerdahl & Ferdon 1965:Figure 149) has lettering that is quite similar to Pua Ara Hoa’s manuscripts, featuring disjointed strokes of the letter *m* and the letter *t* with a non-centered crossbar. However, the lowercase *r* lacks serifs and its general shape is closer to that of MS C2. The hand MS C6 is reminiscent of MS A5 in the shapes of the uppercase *A* and lowercase *g*. However, these hands have different preferences for the forms of *t* and *u*. The hand MS C7 includes a phrase *tagata cogu* written below the tradition of Tangaroa. The use of the letter *c* in place of a *k* suggests Spanish spelling influences. The final text of Manuscript C, *i Anakena korua i mate ai*, is written on a small piece of paper attached to the manuscript. It is singular in writing of the letter *g* with an open loop and the use of a circumflex accent on *î*.

In the case of Manuscript F, we had a chance to study only the image of a single page with the heading “*Kohau Piri*” (Bettocchi 2006c). Based on this limited sample, we were unable to confirm Bettocchi’s suggestion that the text *he Timo* from Manuscript A (Figure 8, hand MS A2) features the handwriting of Gabriel Hereveri (Bettocchi 2009b:40). Manuscript G, published by Bettocchi, displays uniform line thickness and straight-segment forms of the letters *K* and *V* adorned with minimal serifs. This, together with the shape of the letter *g*, brings this handwriting close to MS C1 and MS D. The coincidence would be even more complete if MS G used small triangles to denote serifs on the uppercase *E* and *T*.

Several handwriting samples also contain numbers, presented at the bottom of Figure 8. The numbering

used in Pua Ara Hoa's manuscripts stands out by a flat-based 2, a pronouncedly rounded 3, the number 4 with a foot serif, and the number 7 with diagonal crossbar. The very same features (except for the crossbar on the 7) are seen in MS A5. The hand MS A4 differs further by the form of the number 4. The numbering used in MS C5 and MS C6 is different in the shape of 1 (without a foot serif), 2 (curved base), and 9 (with a straight arc).

Conclusions

Photographs of the Rapanui manuscript inscribed with the name Pua Ara Hoa 'a Rapu were discovered in the collections of the Biblioteca William Mulloy on Rapa Nui and are published here for the first time. The way in which William Mulloy came to possess these pictures is unknown to the authors. The set of 12 photographs documents only eight pages of the original document: complete pages 7, 8, 9 and 10, as well as the upper halves of the pages 13, 14, 15 and 16. Every page is inscribed with the name of Pua Ara Hoa 'a Rapu. The analysis of the scribal hands carried out for all known Rapanui manuscripts proved that all known documents inscribed with Pua Ara Hoa's name are indeed written by the same hand. The final two pages of the discovered manuscript feature large drawings of the sooty tern (*manutara*) that most likely adorned the entire page from both sides. This is the only known large-scale illustration in Rapanui manuscripts. A detailed analysis of the contents of Manuscript H will be presented in the second part of this paper.

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